

# SCOTLAND'S STORY

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**The 'graceless'  
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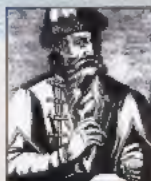


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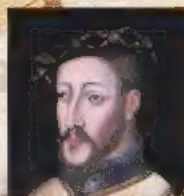
**1507**

Chepman and Miller set up Scotland's first printing press some 50 years after Gutenberg.



**1513**

James V becomes King, aged 18 months, following his father's death at Flodden.



**1525**

Scottish Parliament legislates on imports of Lutheran books.



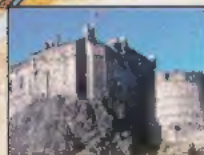
**1538**

Marriage of James V and Mary of Guise at St Andrews. England's Henry VIII was also interested in Mary and her lucrative dowry.



**1537**

Execution at Edinburgh of Lady Glamis and her husband William Lyon for plotting against the King.



**1547**

Scots heavily defeated at the Battle of Pinkie, at the height of the Rough Wooing.



**1542**

Mary of Guise gives birth to Mary, Queen of Scots. A week later the baby's father James V dies.



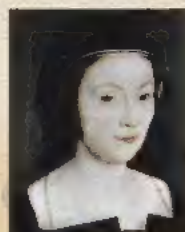
**1548**

Mary, Queen of Scots is shipped to France for her safety and eventual marriage.



**1560**

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**In Part 19:  
The Reformation  
rocks the Church**

PART OF  
IRELAND

North  
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PART OF  
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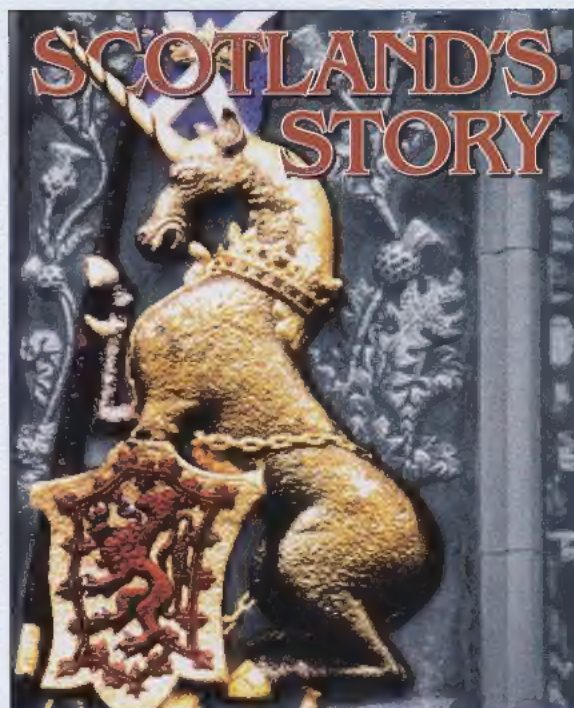
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**COVER:**  
The Royal arms of James V are dominated by the unicorn in this version carved in stone in Abbey Strand near Holyroodhouse in Edinburgh.

# The shadow of a famous daughter

**M**ary of Guise was a powerful figure, but popular history has often placed her in the shadow of her daughter, Mary, Queen of Scots.

The older woman was the sister of Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine and Francois Duke of Guise – one of the great houses of Europe.

She came into her own when James V died, just a week after the birth of their daughter, Mary.

As the infant Queen's mother, Mary had to contain the Protestants, cope with the English threat, and manage political jockeying for power at home.

In 1554, Mary of Guise replaced the Earl of Arran as Regent and ruled till 1560.

She did such a good job, some believe Mary, Queen of Scots would have fared better with more of her mother's political and diplomatic skills.

**F**ew inventions have had such a profound effect on society as Johannes Gutenberg's printing press.

For Scotland, the irony is that the Catholic Stewart dynasty encouraged this new technology, which ultimately helped spread the doctrine of Protestantism. Partners

Chepman and Miller were commissioned by James IV to set up the country's first printing business in 1507, some 50 years after Gutenberg perfected his prototype.

James V was intrigued by the technology but he also wanted to control the new medium.

However, making the printed word available to the masses also meant the spread of subversive material.

In 1525 the Scottish Parliament legislated against imports of Lutheran books.

But it was too late to stop Protestantism, the faith of the word, in its spectacular growth.

**A**nyone who threatened the power or safety of the king was literally playing with fire.

In 1537, Jane Douglas, Lady Glamis and her husband, William Lyon, her son and priest were convicted of treason.

For her it meant being tied to the stake, surrounded by tarred barrels and sticks, and burned alive in front of the Edinburgh mob.

Lyon died an equally grim death when he plunged on to the jagged Castle rocks after an abortive escape bid. Rough justice indeed.

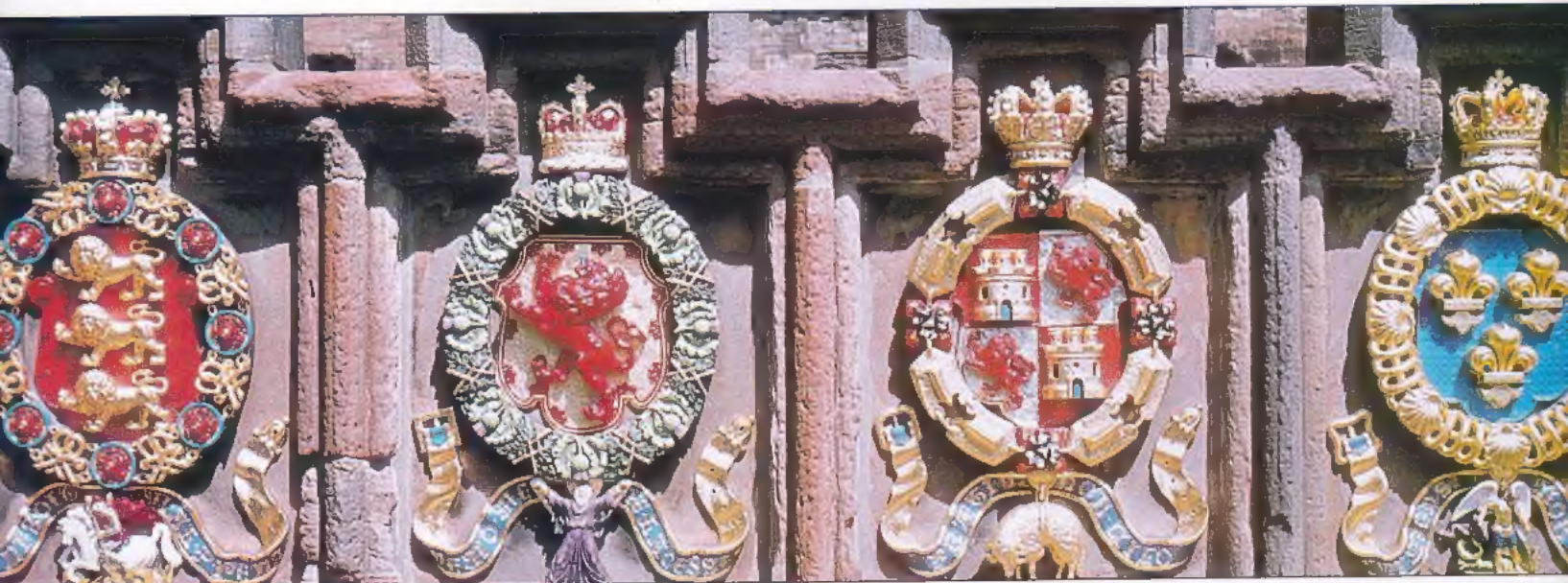


■ The 'graceless face' of King James V. He was a hard man and he drove a hard bargain. But he did his job and was effective.



# A 'graceless' king who preyed on the Church





■ The imperial arms of James's knightly orders – Garter of England, Thistle of Scotland, Golden Fleece of the Holy Roman Empire, and St Michael of France.

## He was a greedy exploiter but this James's effective rule enforced law and order in unruly parts of Scotland

On or about July 8, 1530, the notorious Border reiver Johnie Armstrong was hanged at Caerlenrig in the presence of King James V. According to the celebrated Border ballad on the subject, Armstrong pleaded with the king for mercy but was denied it. The reiver went to his death remarking that he had "asked for grace at a graceless face".

The image of James V's 'graceless face' has persisted for centuries. Until very recently, the received view of the King was of a grasping and sadistic ruler who placed too much trust in the clergy and royal favourites; who conducted something of a reign of terror against his nobility in the closing years of his life; and who was justly deserted by them in the war with England in 1542.

However, the sources for this view are interesting. One of them was the self-appointed propagandist of the Scottish Reformation, John Knox, who condemned James V long after the King's death because he was a Catholic ruler and the father of Mary, Queen of Scots.

Knox's vituperative outpourings can no more be regarded as gospel than the threatening or disparaging comments made by English diplomats – such as Thomas Magnus and the

Duke of Norfolk in James V's own day. For the primary object of England's diplomacy in the 1530s – an England whose king had opted for religious reformation while Scotland remained staunchly Catholic – was to destabilise Scottish government or exercise a controlling influence over it.

It is likely, therefore, that consistent English disapproval of James V's policies was an indication that he was doing his job well; and recent research has produced a much more positive view of King James's personal rule.

Certainly he began with disadvantages. Born in April, 1512, James was thrust into the kingship at the tender age of 18 months, following his father's death, together with most of his nobility, at Flodden on September 9, 1513. The boy-king's English mother, Margaret Tudor, was looked on with mistrust, especially when she speedily married the young Archibald Douglas, sixth earl of Angus. But not for long. When she subsequently divorced him, she took as her third husband Henry Stewart, Lord Methven.

There is perhaps a certain irony in the fact that during the 1520s Margaret's brother, Henry VIII, wrote to warn her that the rapid shifts of affection, reflected in her three marriages, were earning her a bad reputation. In any event James V, as infant and adult, had to put up with her until her death in 1541.

More problematic in the long term was the power struggle at court during the minority – above all between the families of Hamilton (Earl of Arran) and Douglas (Earl of Angus), a dour contest which had the overall effect of weakening the authority, and squandering the resources, of the Crown. Between ▶



■ The unicorn, pictured here on the Royal Arms of James V, was introduced as an emblem of Scotland by James I. The flag is the Royal Saltire – which bears a crown encircling the apex of the St Andrew's Cross. Traditionally, it is only flown when the monarch is present.





■ James V with his first wife, Madeleine, daughter of King Francis I, of France. She died soon after arriving in Scotland. The illustration is from the Seton Armorial.

## The disguised king viewed his prospective wife and then decided against the marriage

► 1515 and 1524 this struggle was refereed by the Governor – John, Duke of Albany, the French son of James III's brother Alexander – not without success. Albany's major achievement was to negotiate the Franco-Scottish treaty of Rouen (1517); and together with James V's pro-French tutor Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, the Governor played a major role in influencing the King's later diplomacy.

In the summer of 1528, James V was 16 and broke free from the control of the family of his Chancellor, Archibald Douglas, sixth Earl of Angus. It was a messy coup which forced Angus and his supporters out of government – but not out of the country – for more than a year.

An abortive royal siege of the great Douglas stronghold of Tantallon in the autumn of 1528 lessened, but did not remove, the potential threat from Angus, who hoped to recover power with English assistance.

King James's principal problem, however, was not Angus and his family, but finance. He solved it spectacularly – and much in the manner of his popular father – by exploiting various sources of casual royal income. Above all, he exploited the wealth of the Scottish Church.

He was in a unique position to do so, for his uncle, Henry VIII, had broken with Rome at the outset of the 1530s. So that James V's bargaining position, sitting north of a schismatic England and a Europe in which Protestant heresies were spreading, was strong. And rather than follow Henry VIII's example, James found there was more money to be made out of polite blackmail of the Pope as the price of keeping Scotland Catholic.

There followed enormous Crown windfalls – a lump sum of £72,000 Scots, payable over four years, from the Scottish Church hierarchy. The huge wealth of the abbeys of Kelso, Melrose and Holyrood, and the priories of St Andrews, Pittenweem, and Coldingham, were given over to royal bastard infants – in effect, to James V – in a series of appointments far more scandalous than those



perpetrated by James IV. The fault, as James V remarked with engaging candour in a letter to Pope Clement VII in 1533, was his own. But, citing his 'natural fatherly affection', he made it clear that he expected enormous rewards for his human weakness. By contrast, the clergy's grant of £1,400 a year in perpetuity to support a College of Justice (1532) appears small beer indeed.

If siring illegitimate children could prove lucrative – James V had at least seven offspring by six mistresses – even greater rewards were to be earned in the international marriage market. Possible brides for the Scottish king ranged from Danish, Italian and French to Henry VIII's daughter, Mary Tudor.

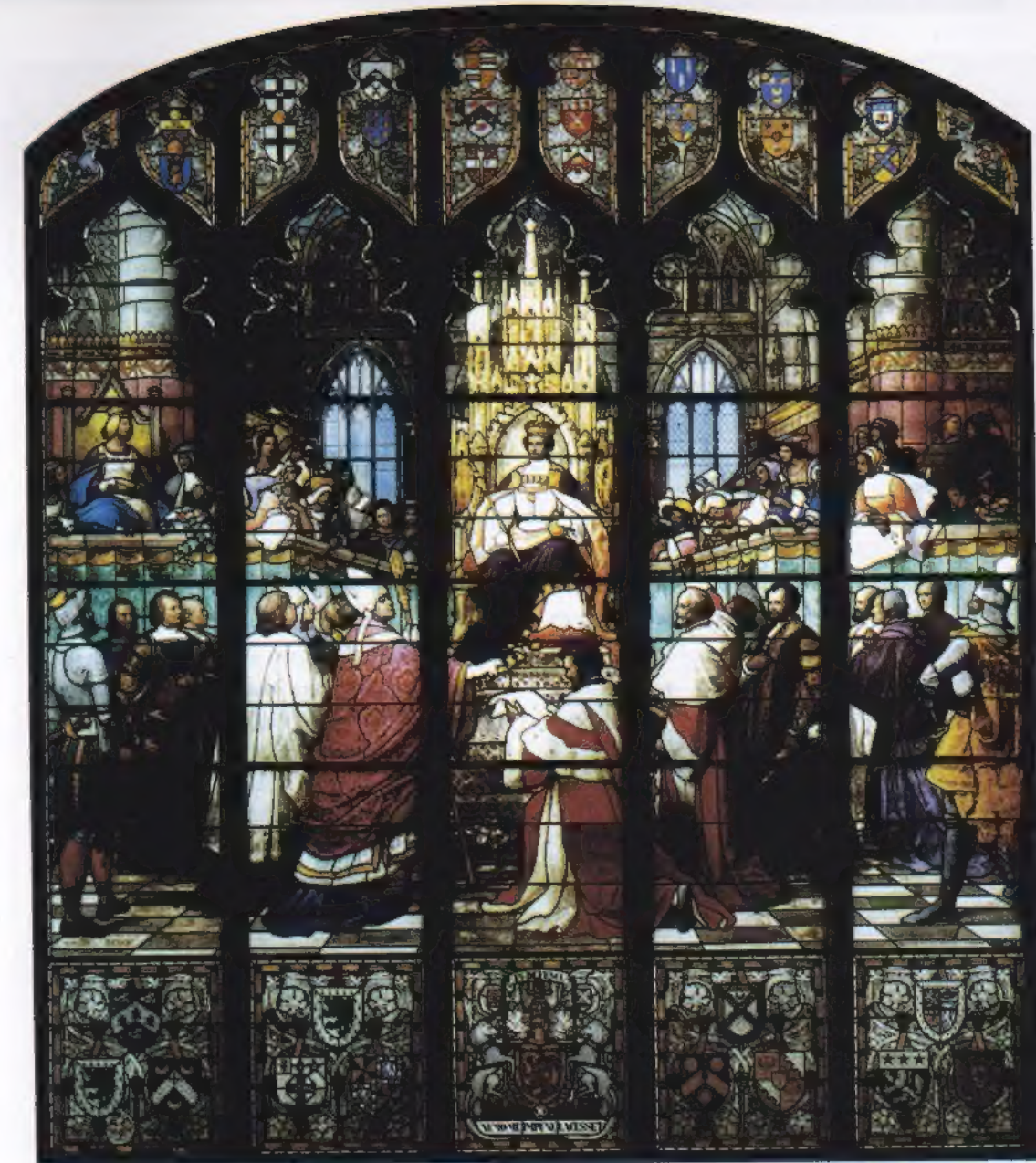
Honours were showered on King James. He was invested with the English Order of the Garter, the French Order of St Michael, and the Imperial Order of the Golden Fleece. However, the real choice lay between heretic England and Catholic France, and the decision was easily made. In September, 1536, James V sailed for France – the first Stewart king to leave his realm voluntarily – ostensibly to marry Mary of Bourbon, daughter of the Duke of Vendome, for a princely dowry of 100,000 crowns (rather more than £100,000 Scots).

There are elements of black comedy about James V's nine-month French holiday. Apparently he arrived at the Duke of Vendome's court in disguise and, discovering his prospective bride was a 'mis-shapen hunchback', decided against the match, insisting on – and receiving – the hand of King Francis I's daughter, Madeleine. The couple were married in Paris, in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, on January 1, 1537; but soon after their return to Scotland the sickly Madeleine died at Holyrood.

Undaunted, James V sent David Beaton (soon to become Archbishop of St Andrews) to France to negotiate a second marriage. Beaton, who in the process acquired a cardinal's hat and the French bishopric of Mirepoix for himself, settled on Mary of Guise, a lady made of sterner stuff than Madeleine. The dowries for James's two French marriages amounted to a staggering £168,750 Scots, close to five times the sum James IV had received for his marriage to Margaret Tudor in 1503.

James V's fiscal success – he left around £26,000 when he died – was achieved in the context of generally good relations with the Scottish nobility. If the king occasionally indulged in legal sharp practice, so also had his popular father.

The notorious executions of 1537 –



■ James V's inauguration of the Court of Session in 1532, recorded in the Great South Window, at Parliament Hall.

the Master of Forbes and Lady Glamis, the latter of whom was burned in front of Edinburgh castle – are not necessarily evidence of a streak of sadistic cruelty in the King's nature, but may be rather seen as royal judgment for perceived treason.

And a king who could confidently leave his realm for nine months in 1536-7 was clearly not troubled by the possibility of rebellion.

In what proved to be the final years of James V's reign, then, there is no reign of terror but a ruler in full control of his kingdom, lavishing money on building projects, issuing the superb gold 'bonnet piece' of 1539 (bearing his portrait on one side and an imperial crown on the other), and having the Scottish imperial crown itself remodelled and enriched for the coronation of Mary of Guise at Holyrood in 1540.

She fulfilled her duty by bearing

King James two sons, James and Arthur. Both died in infancy (as had James IV's first two sons, bearing the same names) but on December 8, 1542, at Linlithgow, Mary of Guise produced a third child, a daughter Mary (to be Queen of Scots), and doubtless more children would have followed if the king had survived.

In the autumn of 1542, honouring the French alliance, he went to war with England. The results of the autumn campaigns were mixed. The Earl of Huntly won a victory at Hadden Rig, near Berwick, and the English commander, the Duke of Norfolk, abandoned his invasion and went home in October. Then in a sideshow at Solway Moss on November 24, Lord Maxwell was defeated and captured by an English force under Sir Thomas Wharton.

James V was planning to renew the war the next spring when he died at Falkland Palace on December 14,

either of cholera or dysentery. He was only 30. After his death, and especially after the Reformation, his reputation was attacked by many seeking to further their own religious and political agendas. This is understandable but unjust. Thus the king's supposed 'black list' of 360 noble heretics, and the celebrated Falkland deathbed scene, with him turning his face to the wall and muttering about the end of the dynasty, are later inventions.

Later still, in the 18th century, there emerged a more positive view of James V as a 'poor man's king', travelling the country in the disguise of the 'Gudeman of Ballengeich'.

As for the condemned Johnie Armstrong's 'graceless face', this was also the face of a Stewart king doing his job, enforcing law and order in the volatile and violent south.

James V was no saint. He was greedy, and hardly lavish in his patronage. But he was effective. ●



# Press

The Renaissance kings of Scotland promoted print technology – but the access to new ideas sparked religious dissent

In 1507, King James IV issued a licence granting a monopoly of book production in Scotland to Walter Chepman, a prosperous Edinburgh merchant, and Andrew Miller, a bookseller from the city.

While Chepman supplied the finance, Miller drew on his experience of printing in France to supply the technical expertise – ‘ane prent with al stuf belangang tharto and expert men to use the samyn’.

They set up the first Scottish printing-press, charged by the King’s command with producing books of law, acts of parliament, chronicles, mass books, and a breviary ‘after the use of our realme’.

Although this first Scottish printing venture proved short-lived – Chepman and Miller ceased production in 1510 – the arrival of printing in Scotland was symptomatic of a technological revolution which was transforming Europe’s cultural landscape.

By 1507 it was well over 50 years since Johannes Gutenberg of Mainz in Germany had first developed the revolutionary new technology that allowed mass production of the printed word. Until the mid-15th century, book production – and so the transmission of knowledge – was dependent on the laborious process of copying texts by hand. This was an immensely time-consuming and expensive task, done mainly by monks or by professional scribes.

The results were often exquisite works of art, ranging from the Book of Kells, the famous illuminated manuscript made at Iona in the 8th century, to James IV’s Book of Hours – commissioned in 1503 from a Flemish workshop as a gift for his new bride, Margaret Tudor.

While not all manuscripts were as elaborate as these, the time and

## ETHICA ARI

stotelis Peripateticorum principis, Cum Ioannis Maioris Theologi Parisiensis Cōmentariis.



Venundantur, cuius prelo impressa sunt lo-  
doco Badio, & in societatem accepto lo. Paruo.

■ Early printers at work: the title page from Aristotle’s Ethics, once owned by the Abbot of Cambuskenneth.



# power to the people

expense involved in copying by hand ensured nevertheless that reading and writing remained high-status skills, confined to the clergy and a handful of the lay elite. Gutenberg's pioneering development of moveable metal type, and the new-found ability to print multiple copies of a single text, was to change all that.

Print made access to knowledge easier and cheaper, while at the same time encouraging the growth of literacy among social classes hitherto excluded from the learned world. The effect was profoundly liberating – and, potentially, deeply subversive.

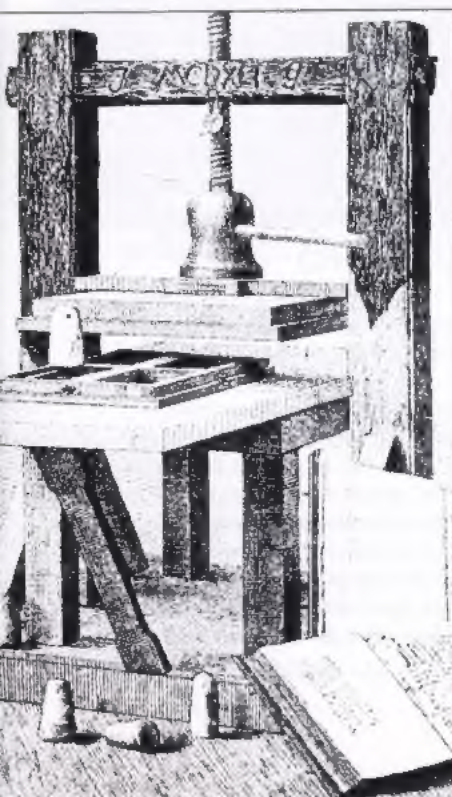
It was to control and censor the press, as well as to exploit it to its own advantage, that the Crown granted Chepman and Miller their monopoly over book production.

They were instructed to print law books and acts of parliament. The desire to codify and disseminate a uniform body of Scots law was nothing new, but the printing press made it practical for the first time.

Chepman and Miller, however, ignored this part of their instructions.

The first printed edition of Scots law, confined to the parliamentary acts of James V's reign, did not appear until 1540, and it was not until 1566 that a full body of statute law from 1424 to 1564 was put into

■ The ability to make multiple copies of one text gave the first press instant influence.



print. One part of their instructions which Chepman and Miller did follow was the production of a distinctively Scottish breviary, a religious service book laying out for the clergy the psalms, hymns, scripture readings and saints' lives appropriate for daily worship throughout the year.

The advent of printing had led to an influx of mass-produced English breviaries into Scotland – an alarming trend for clerics such as William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, keen to promote the distinctive character of the Scottish Church.

Elphinstone revitalised native ecclesiastical traditions through researching the lives of early Celtic saints, commemorated in the massive Aberdeen Breviary which Chepman and Miller finally produced in two parts in 1509-10.

Though a fine example of the early printer's art, the Aberdeen Breviary was hardly a commercial success. Too expensive to be widely adopted in Scotland, its production may also have bankrupted the press. It is the last work that Chepman and Miller are known to have produced.

Less ambitious but more viable was the series of some dozen prints, bearing their characteristic 'devices' or logos, that Chepman and Miller produced in 1508. These consist largely of vernacular verse by the great 'makars' of early Renaissance Scotland – four poems by William Dunbar and one by Robert Henryson – and romance literature such as the Arthurian Knightly Tale of Golagros and Gawain.

This was probably an attempt to target the increasingly literate city merchants and country lairds. It was presumably the latter who were the intended readership for a work such as *The Porteous of Noblenes*, a Scots translation of a French handbook on a nobleman's conduct.

Of more general interest, and a highly-astute nod in the direction of the chronicles, was their publication of the epic poem, *The Acts of Sir William Wallace*, by Henry the Minstrel – also known as Blind Harry.

It was the first appearance in print of a work that was later to go through 18 editions.

But, initially at least, the Scottish book market was too small to sustain large productions. As a result, the first printed histories of

Scotland were published in Paris and, written in Latin, were aimed as much at a European as a Scottish audience. First in the field was the remarkable *History of Britain* (1521) by the distinguished theologian John Mair. But although it was in many ways a work of great scholarship, its Anglocentric political slant, combined with a lack of vernacular Scots translation, ensured that it never had much popular appeal.

More successful was Hector Boece's bullishly patriotic *History of the Scots* (1527), an ebullient reworking of the Medieval chronicle tradition that celebrated the heroic struggle to maintain Scotland's freedom. His colourful narrative proved immensely popular. It was translated into vernacular Scots by John Bellenden.

Boece and Bellenden's printed history books were much more manageable than the unwieldy manuscripts of earlier chroniclers such as Walter Bower. They, along with Mair, differed from the chroniclers in that they applied a much more sophisticated approach – known as 'humanism' – to history.

They presented the nation's history in such a way as to encourage the people to be morally good, loyal to their king and patriotic. The earlier chroniclers had never attempted this in such a systematic manner. Above all, by writing in the vernacular (Scots), Bellenden brought a national history to the people for the first time.

Bellenden was commissioned to write the translation of Boece's work by King James V, who was very taken with a history of the nation designed to instill loyalty to the Crown and encourage patriotism.

Bellenden's history in particular is designed to make the king look good for a popular audience. James V styled himself as an emperor, and as such was keen that Boece's history, and especially Bellenden's popular translation, emphasised the authority of the king over his subjects. James V's imperial style can be seen in the 'closed crowns' on St Giles Cathedral, Linlithgow Church, and the fountain at Linlithgow Palace.

James V was one of only five monarchs in Europe to have an Imperial-style crown, something



■ Catalyst: Johannes Gutenberg invented moveable type and changed society forever.

England did not have.

A printed edition of Bellenden's history, produced just a few years after it was written by Edinburgh printer Thomas Davidson, has been described as 'an almost unrivalled specimen of early British typography'.

By the 1530s Scots had been importing books from England and the Continent for over half a century and, while this ensured that the learned elite had easy access to advances in scholarship, it also exposed a better-educated society to the potentially subversive impact of 'heretical' religious literature.

As early as 1525, the Scottish parliament was legislating against the import of Lutheran books. Yet the authorities were powerless to stem the spread of such tracts – or the heterodox views they encouraged. Moreover, in 1526, William Tyndale produced the first English translation of the New Testament, while by 1535 Miles Coverdale had printed the first English version of the Bible as a whole.

The fact that no Scottish vernacular version of the Bible found its way into print was in the long term to undermine the viability of Scots as a national language.

In the short term, however, the availability of the Bible in an accessible language simply fanned the flames of popular religious dissent. ●



# The flames of injustice



■ The day after Lady Glamis died so horrifically at the stake, her husband plunged to his death from Edinburgh Castle while trying to escape.

**T**he horrific deaths of Lady Glamis, and her second husband, William Lyon, are recounted in colourful and moving terms in the annals of Edinburgh. The affair is testament to the distinct threat James V felt from the influential and ambitious house of Douglas.

In 1537 Jane Douglas, widow of John Lyon Lord Glamis, was anonymously accused – along with her son Gillespie Campbell, her second husband, Lord Lyon (a relative of John), and the family priest – of attempting to assassinate King James V.

Such an accusation upon this family might at first seem strange, since they lived almost constantly in the Angus countryside, far from court. But the reality was that Lady Glamis and her cohorts had been involved in plots against the Crown since 1528, and she was also believed to be responsible for the poisoning of her first husband in 1532.

James V was extremely wary of the Angus Douglasses – particularly Lady Glamis's brother, the 6th Earl of Angus, who had held him prisoner from 1525-8.

The Douglasses' own greed for power provided an ever-present threat to royal authority, and when the 1537 treason was revealed, James V naturally moved to punish those responsible.

Indeed, that same year James V executed another member of the Douglas contingent, the Master of Forbes, on suspicion of a plot to shoot

**Accused of plotting to murder James V, Lady Glamis was burned before her son's eyes. But it was she, not the king, who was betrayed**

him. During the investigation into Lady Glamis's treason, her relatives and servants were thoroughly questioned – but it is told that, even when tortured, nothing to the detriment of the family could be extorted. Nevertheless, she and her co-accused were condemned and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle to await execution.

On the appointed day, Lady Glamis, a noble woman described as beautiful and much loved by the people, was led from the Castle gates and chained to a stake. Tarred barrels and oiled sticks were piled around her, and she was burned to ashes within view of her son and husband who beheld the terrible scene from the tower that overlooked it. Lady Glamis was burned alive on Castle Hill, apparently greatly pitied by the spectators.

Popular tradition recounts that the loss of a figure of such noble stature, blooming youth and uncommon beauty affected the Edinburgh mob

so deeply that many burst into tears and uttered 'loud lamentations' for her untimely end.

The next day her husband plunged violently to his death as he tried to escape from the Castle.

The annals recount that the rope by which he had attempted his descent was too short, and his body was dashed to pieces among the rocks.

Lady Glamis's accuser turned out to be William Lyon, another relation, who seemingly then admitted that she was innocent.

The popular view is that, overcome by remorse for the horrific effects of his falsehoods, Lyon repented to the King and confessed to his offence. James V reacted with fury at the whole affair, but neither altered the punishments nor restored any of the Glamis family's confiscated lands.

Being thought too young to be involved, Gillespie Campbell was confined in the Castle until the King's death in 1542.

He was then finally set free to take possession of his hereditary estates, but left forever scarred by the childhood memory of his mother's execution.

■ It is one of the more ironic twists of history that a direct descendant of Lady Glamis is now Britain's monarch. The Queen Mother, Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon, is the daughter of the 14th Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne.

His ancestor, the 1st Earl of Kinghorne was the grandson of John Lyon, Lord Glamis, and Jane Douglas. Glamis Castle, in Angus, is still the ancestral home of the Bowes-Lyon family. ●



# Unfair shares in the power and the glory

The late Medieval Church in Scotland was often more concerned with the land-owning elite than the poor souls who actually worked on the land to get by



■ This miniature from the book of hours in Arbuthnott parish church shows the Mass of St Gregory.

**B**y the time of the religious upheaval of the 16th century, the Church had established itself at the centre of developments in commerce, education and the arts. Indeed, the Church had become very powerful in Scotland from the 11th century onward.

Kings, queens and nobles granted huge tracts of good farmland to support churches and monasteries. These gifts were acts of piety, designed to ensure the givers' safe passage into Heaven. Whether or not this got them there is a moot point, but the most certain result was that by the Middle Ages, the Church straddled Scotland

with the structure of a multinational corporation rich enough to erect fabulous buildings, to have a presence in national affairs and to exert a massive influence on what passed for a national economy.

It was the marriage of the devout Queen Margaret to Malcolm Canmore in 1070 that accelerated this process. She brought Scottish Christianity into closer association with the Church in Rome and opened the door to the increasing numbers of then fashionable monastic Orders whose influence also crossed national boundaries.

Over a period of four centuries the snowball of

wealth and power simply grew, until it led to corruption at the heart of Church affairs and widespread popular dissent.

Of course, there are many aspects to the operations of the Medieval Church – its power and its glory; what it took and what it gave.

So first, we should look at how the Church functioned as a major landowner when you might think its prime purpose was to spread its beliefs and save souls.

In the 12th century, there were about 1,000 parish churches in Scotland and almost every one of these had its 'glebe' – acres of farmland devoted ►



## The Church was divided into have and have-nots

► to its support. At this level, the priest was likely to have received just enough religious education to get by as a preacher, but would spend most of his time and effort farming the land.

At a higher level, the bishops and monastic superiors with vast land holdings to administer needed to look for tenant farmers, so here the churchmen functioned as basic landowners and employers of local tradesmen.

Wool production and exporting was one of Scotland's biggest earners of foreign money at this time, although this simple sale of raw materials revealed the basic low level of the country's economy.

Nevertheless, a huge proportion of the wool trade was under the control of the Church. The Church also worked coal and salt from the Forth Basin.

At the same time, a higher professional class of churchmen was active in affairs of state, acting as advisers, diplomats and lawyers. They also operated at the upper levels of Church administration. And, because their standards of education were exceptional, they would also be found in the corridors of local and national power.

By the 16th century, the Church in Scotland had a hierarchy of two archbishops and 11 bishops, had built 11 great cathedrals, and had founded about 50 monasteries or abbeys. All this made religion part of the mortar which held the state together.

But the Church itself was divided into the haves and have-nots. Much of its wealth was being diverted away from parish level to its big institutions, so that its priests often had to exist at poverty level.

Most of the monastic Orders given land and other endowments in Scotland were 'mendicants', which means that theoretically they did not own property and had to go among the people seeking alms. 'Holy beggars', they have been called. And while some of these religious houses did noble work among the sick, the poor and the helpless, they were not always seen by ordinary people as holy men of high principle.

One nice piece of public satire was the so-called Friars' Pot raid in Perth in 1543. The Dominican Order, or Blackfriars, had been established in the city by royal gift for three centuries when they became involved in some dispute with the burgh over land.

One evening, a mob invaded their cloister and stole the great iron pot in which their dinner was cooking, parading it through the streets. This was to show that the men professing poverty were able to enjoy rather better eating than the average

*Scottishman.*

To support religion, one tenth of the country's income was passed on to the clergy every year. But what did the Church give and what was its glory?

The answer was that its major centres – the cathedrals and the increasing numbers of collegiate churches which offered teaching – provided a grand setting for devotion.

While parish churches were usually modest, these more important buildings were architectural.

This 15th-century altarpiece by Hugo van der Goeke was a gift to Edinburgh's Holy Trinity Church from James III.





■ The nave at Dunfermline Abbey was even more spectacular before it was stripped of its finery during the Reformation.



■ Pews show intricate craftwork in illustration of monks' choir from psalter of Henry VI. Below, fine detail in 15th-century wood-carving of a saint.

masterpieces, which brought to Scotland from places like France and Flanders the arts of stone carving, wood carving and rich interior decoration with paint and tapestry and golden ornaments.

Because of the destruction of 'idolatry' carried out at the time of the Reformation, little remains to show us the original grandeur of these places.

While great buildings such as the 13th century Glasgow Cathedral survive, as well as the Medieval nave of Dunfermline Abbey with its 19th century bolt-on Gothic addition, it is hard to imagine how these austere, stone interiors looked to the pilgrims and worshippers they once attracted in droves.

The ancient stone has its own beauty, of course stark, weathered and functional. But any modern Scot, used to his country's Reformed tradition, who visits an ancient church in a Catholic country such as Italy – even a small, unregarded chapel off the tourist routes – will be struck by the colourful decor, the paintings, the sense of drama.

This gives some clue as to how Scotland's major churches must have looked until the late 16th century.

There have been some lucky finds. For example, two large bronze mortars and a pestle were discovered during a modern dig at Glasgow Cathedral. One mortar bore the name of William Wishart, a 13th century Bishop of Glasgow, and was probably used for mixing the large quantity of

incense needed on feast days. Even this practical piece of Church equipment had to be prudently buried to escape destruction.

Among other artefacts to survive the religious upheaval were a number of 15th and 16th century illuminated manuscripts, commissioned by Scots from monks in France and Holland.

Examples of Medieval church art still to be seen in Scotland include a superb altarpiece from 1478 painted by Hugo van der Goes, a portrait of William Elphinstone, the Bishop of Aberdeen who founded the city's university, a carved statue of St Andrew, and examples of intricately-carved panelling – all in the National Museum in Edinburgh.

A great glory of the Church lay in setting up an early education system through cathedral and abbey schools.

Meanwhile, the Dominican monks established seminaries which set a pattern for the later universities

the first being at St Andrews, founded in 1411.

In 1496, the Scottish Parliament led the field in Europe with an Act making education compulsory, although this just applied to the eldest sons of leading barons.

The intention of this elitist seeming measure was to produce an educated generation of lawyers, but it was nevertheless a start.

After the Church was reformed in the 16th century, ambitious plans were launched for a national education campaign, ranging through parish elementary schools to grammar schools, high schools, colleges and universities. There was to be no distinction between rich scholars and poor – ability was the only criterion.

So out of Scotland's time of religious turbulence emerged a 'democratic' form of education which would later become the nation's pride and renowned across the world. ●





# Wooing?

Henry VIII saw Scotland uniting with England through a 'golden marriage'. When thwarted he turned to force

**T**he name Rough Wooing derives from the Earl of Huntly's famous quip after the 10,000-man slaughter of Scots at the Battle of Pinkie on September 10, 1547

To the intrusive badgering of an English writer, Huntly first lied through his teeth, saying that he now fully supported England's aims of uniting the two realms by the marriage of his queen — Mary, Queen of Scots — to England's Edward VI (1547-53)

He then spoke in earnest: "But I like not this wooing."

Although Pinkie is the outstanding battle of the period, the Rough Wooing was in reality a series of interlocking periods of military clashes spanning the years 1542-1551. It was one of the largest Anglo-Scottish Wars in history and in some senses, the most destructive

Edinburgh was sacked, Dundee reduced to rubble, the Border zone savaged, tens of thousands killed and all too many homes fire-razed and families' possessions and livestock stolen

The scene was set by a summer-autumn war between Henry VIII and Mary's father, James V, in 1542. It had arisen because of the English king's determination to shine on Europe's battlefield stage of glory in France. Initially quite victorious, James's defiance of his uncle ended with the debacle at Solway Moss on November 24. Solway figures in all the textbooks, but was arguably little more than a brawl. Only seven Scots died in the engagement, but it was part of the war in which Mary, Queen of Scots found herself when she became queen on December 14, 1542, at the age of only one week

Mary's birth in a sense rescued the country, for the regency government of the next man in line

■ Hell hath no fury like a king spurned. Henry VIII's war with the Scots was unbelievably destructive, with Edinburgh sacked and Dundee reduced to rubble.





# This was total war



■ Haddington today. In 1548 the English Duke of Somerset fortified this East Lothian town, believing it was the key to winning Scotland.

to the throne, the Earl of Arran, was able, between January and July 1543, to dangle the prospect of her marriage to Henry VIII's son Edward so as to bring that conflict to an end.

The Treaties of Greenwich, ratified by the Scottish government and aristocracy at Holyrood in August, also contracted that Mary should be married – at the age of 10 – to Edward Tudor.

Henry VIII's vision was that the two kingdoms would be united through this "golden and godly marriage", with the accession to both thrones by the heir of Mary and Edward's consummated and fruitful marriage.

But it was not just any imperial vision of Henry which motivated him – Mary Stewart had a powerful claim through her grandmother, Henry VIII's sister and James IV's bride, to the English inheritance should the Tudors die out. This, of course, they would do in 1603,

making them something of a failure – one of the shortest-lived dynasties in European history. The last child born into that family was Edward, in October, 1537. It was to head off the Stewart threat to his family line that Henry was so ardent for his boy to marry Scotland's queen.

Once the campaigning season of 1543 passed, Arran naturally renounced the whole scheme to marry off the young Mary to the English monarchy, and by December had revived Scotland's adherence to France – and indeed to Rome. Working with Scotland's most redoubtable politician, Cardinal David Beaton, and then with Mary's mother, Mary of Guise, after 1545, Arran resisted Henry VIII's revenge war for more than two years.

English armies invaded Edinburgh in 1544 and the Borders in 1545. The Highlands revolted, and the Borders were raided almost nightly. Even the Emperor Charles V, who

controlled Austria, Castille, a large area of Holland and parts of Spain and Italy, was induced to declare war against Scotland.

But this was all to no avail. Indeed, the Scots utterly defeated Charles V and made massive profits from their war with him. And by the time Henry VIII finally died in January 1547, the fruits of his massive expenditure of treasure on fighting his opponents – around £350,000 – was a feeble tower house on the West Marches at Langholm.

Henry VIII did bequeath to his son's guardian and effective ruler of England, Edward Seymour, self-promoted to be Duke of Somerset – a working relationship with the gang of thugs who had murdered Cardinal Beaton in May, 1546, and the English still held St Andrews Castle.

Although Arran had effected numerous minor military triumphs during this period, such as that at

Ancrum Moor in 1545 and the recapture of Dumbarton in 1546, the fortress at St Andrews was, for a number of reasons (Arran's son was imprisoned there), too hard a nut for Scottish military capability to crack.

Arran thus called in the experts and a French rapid deployment force appeared off the Fife coast in July, 1547. By ingenious engineering, hoisting cannon on to the steeple of St Salvator's College, they reduced its incumbents, the 'Castilians', in a week. Among them was John Knox, who was then infamously chained to the oars of a galley.

Henry VIII's Wooing had been a total failure. His main goals had always lain in France where, he captured Boulogne in September, 1544.

But his war had been an enormously productive learning experience for Somerset who, once in power, resolved to tackle Scotland ►



► and the opportunity of Queen Mary's marriage with much more resolution, and intelligence, than his former master had done

Somerset's stunning victory at Pinkie was important. In the short term it destroyed Scotland's army, but that was not an end in itself. It created the conditions whereby he could plant fortified garrisons of English troops in and about the Scottish kingdom, which would then wage year-round warfare and thus, by sheer stubborn resistance and attrition, wear down Arran's supporters so that finally they would accede to the marriage.

Somerset's strategy was thus highly focused and coherent, but enormously expensive, costing around £600,000. He employed the most modern technology available: potent artillery housed in a radically new design of fortification, the *Trace Italienne* (learned about only the year before), which provided secure protection to troops who could then issue forth and terrorise the Scottish countryside—as happened around Kelso and Roxburgh.

Dumfries was taken, and Dundee English naval vessels, harboured at Inchcolm, harried the Fife coast. The Tweed Valley became an English pale. It was total war. As one commander mused: "This winter war much grieves the hearts of the Scots."

The brilliance of Somerset's tactics can be especially seen as he responded to setbacks. He lost the South-West in February, 1548, to a Scottish counter attack, and Inchcolm island had to be abandoned, so fierce was Scottish resistance. Then one of the most professional armies in Europe, that of France, intervened in June, 1548.

Instead of withdrawing, Somerset upped the stakes and built, almost overnight, one of Europe's largest Italianate fortifications at Haddington. Then he similarly protected his Tayside hold of Broughty by forts on the hill there. Lauder also had a brand-new and highly-intricate fortification quickly erected.

When the French army of King Henry II then settled down to besiege Haddington, they were staggered at what confronted them and were defeated by it, at least in the summer of 1548.

The war thus became one for the county seat of East Lothian: "Keeping Haddington, you win Scotland."

But Somerset had made a massive miscalculation. He thought the French would either be engaged in



■ An allegorical painting by an unknown artist shows the dying Henry VIII indicating his son Edward as his heir. T





Somerset stands on the young king's left, while the Pope (foreground) suffers the blow of the English break with Rome.

Italy or simply could not sustain a war so far from their shores. And indeed the French did have their problems and had to send relief armies in 1549.

These forces gradually wore down the English. Hume was retaken, Haddington had to be abandoned because of its isolation and an outbreak of the plague. Broughty fell to siege in February, 1550.

Moreover, the war broke not the French but the English regime. During the summer of 1549, some of the most serious English domestic rebellions in the whole of the century shattered the Somerset protectorate. In August, a massive French army laid siege to Boulogne. The much smarter Warwick, later the Duke of Northumberland, took charge and extricated England from its disastrous adventures.

So the Rough Wooing juddered to its close. On March 24, 1550, peace finally being settled with Charles V and then along the Borders in 1551.

But Henry II of France's critical triumph was to gain the actual person of the child Mary into his hands. By August, 1548, she was in France, living in his growing family. Both Catherine de Medici and the King's mistress, Diane de Poitiers, had a hand in her upbringing. Mary was beloved by all the court as "the most perfect child."

Henry even called her his very own daughter.

By 1558, she became, through her marriage to his eldest son, certainly his daughter-in-law. And that husband thereby became Francis, 'King of Scotland.'

Ironically, the English, by trying to conquer Scotland yet again, saw not just that aim backfire but found themselves in a much worse position: first subservient to France.

between 1550-53, and then under Habsburg influence because of Mary Tudor's marriage to Philip of Spain who was thus King of England from 1554-58.

In November, 1558, Elizabeth Tudor became Queen of England by Act of Parliament.

But in many people's eyes, she was no such thing — she was just the bastard offspring of an illegal sexual union between her father and his whore, Ann Boleyn.

When Mary Stuart, as her name was now spelled, became Queen of France in July, 1559, on the death of Henry II, in Catholic eyes she stood as queen four times — Scotland, France, England and Ireland.

It might be argued that in her beginning was her end. But what a beginning! ●





■ How the Scots and English were ranged against each other around the River Esk at the Battle of Pinkie in 1547.

# Arran's fatal assumption

## Why Scots wilted at the roughest moment of the Rough Wooing

**W**ith the impending invasion by English forces, Scotland's Governor, the Earl of Arran, sent the fiery cross throughout the country, ordering all men between 16 and 60 to join forces at Musselburgh. The message his heralds carried was clear-cut: 'Come for the defence of the realm, princess and liberty'.

The response was immediate. Around 36,000 Scottish troops gathered beside the Esk, ready for battle. It was one of the largest Scots armies ever assembled. Standing out among its ranks was the dashing Earl of Huntly, clad in gilt and enamelled armour, topped with a flamboyant battle helmet. Many others wore white leather over their plating, while 'jack, speir, steil bonet, sword, and whinger (short sword)' was the order for the soldiers. Reaching high above their heads were formidable steel-ended pikes.

The English gathered at Newcastle under Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, then Lord Protector and Duke of Somerset. He was an experienced campaigner, veteran of the successful capture and refortification of Boulogne during England's campaigns against France. The English army, too, was a fearsome force of around 16,000, heavy with expensive artillery, cavalry and foreign mercenaries.

It marched north along the coast, shadowed by a fleet to provide additional firepower and

stores. Battle lines were drawn with the Scots holding a well-prepared position on the Esk's west bank, strategically protecting Edinburgh.

Arran's intelligence had been sound and defences were even built facing the sea to deal with the naval threat. Somerset must have been dismayed at the sight that greeted him from near Falside. He faced the decision of whether to do battle, risk defeat and devastation of his forces or retire with his army intact.

September 10, 1547, dawned overcast but dry and windless. Both sides were active by 8am. Somerset had already reconnoitred the battleground and felt that if he could place artillery on the small hill at Pinkie Cleuch, which the Scots had failed to occupy, along with his big cannon on Carberry Hill, he could produce a barrage, supported from the sea, that might afford him an attack across the river.

He moved fast downhill from Falside, light horse in front, followed by footsoldiers and guns, with heavy cavalry bringing up the rear.

Victory or defeat can be engineered in a second. A mistaken assumption and the day is lost. So it was at Pinkie. It is said that Arran misread the English manoeuvre – believing they were retreating, heading homewards and vulnerably spread out before him. He decided to leave his entrenched position and attack. It was a wrong judgment. As at Flodden 34 years earlier, a Scottish army deserted its strong, fixed position and came to another red end.

Scotland's Highland left wing, under Huntly, dashed over the bridge at Musselburgh but came under fire from the sea. Some were killed, including the Master of Graham. The English cavalry were brought into action against the

advancing Scots, but were repelled by the bristling schiltroms, around 200 horsemen falling at the first tilt. The hand-to-hand fighting that followed was desperate and the noise devastating. The battle could have gone either way.

William Patten, travelling with Somerset, described the scene: "Herewith waxt it very hot on both sydes, with piteful cryes, horrible rore and terrible thundering of gunnes besyde...the bullettes, pelletes, and arrowes flying each where so thik, and so uncerteinly lightynge, that no where was there any surety of safety".

But then the tide turned as English artillery began to play a telling role. Scotland's weakness had always been lack of guns and horse and the heavy bombardment into the white ranks began to take a dreadful toll. The Scots wilted, their discipline cracked, some fell back and others began to run for it. In spite of the Earl of Angus's readiness to fight on, it was beyond Arran's ability to rally his troops. The day was lost.

English cavalry had a field day as they pursued the fleeing Scots. They hacked, clubbed and slaughtered without mercy. In the rout, Huntly's men made a fight of it at the swollen river. He had marched with his troops on foot and in full armour and became so exhausted that at last he threw off that heavy, ostentatious headpiece. As his men clustered around him for a last stand, one of his group, David Dunbar, took off his own steel bonnet and put it on Huntly's head. Moments later, Dunbar was killed by a mace blow and Huntly was a prisoner.

The bodies of around 10,000 Scots littered the area, many of them nobility. This strenuous period may have historically been called 'the Rough Wooing', but those who survived Pinkie would have felt 'rough' was an understatement. ■



# The other Mary who is unfairly forgotten

■ A product of the most powerful noble house in France, Mary of Guise is noted only for being mother of Mary, Queen of Scots. But she was a strong character deserving of much more recognition.



**When Mary of Guise lost her husband, James V, she inherited rampant political and religious strife. But she handled it with impressive dignity**

**T**he most famous 16th century woman in Scotland is, of course, Mary, Queen of Scots. Her mother, Mary of Guise, is far less well known. What a pity it is that this much more remarkable woman has been so overshadowed. Indeed, it was a real misfortune for the kingdom of Scotland that Mary of Guise did not transmit to her daughter her own high intelligence and sheer guts.

Her story is less dramatic, less headline hitting, less scandalous, ultimately less tragic. But she survived and controlled a political situation at least as difficult as that which the Queen of Scots failed to cope with; and she had to suffer

her own full measure of human misfortune.

She was the sister of Francois, Duke of Guise, and Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine – so a member of the most powerful noble house in France, and one of the great aristocratic houses of Europe. She was therefore accustomed to moving in the world of high politics, domestic and international. And as such she was a suitable bride for a king.

Determined to have a French bride, James V had married Madeleine, daughter of Francois I, in 1536, but the union lasted only a few weeks after their return to Scotland. When she died of an illness, his eye turned to France again, and if this time his wife was aristocratic rather than royal, ►





French-style fortifications, like these at Leith, illustrated the influence of Mary of Guise's native culture on Scotland.

► she was important enough in the marriage market to attract not only James but Henry VIII, now in search of a fourth wife. Mary apparently preferred the king of the smaller kingdom on the entirely reasonable grounds that she might be a tall woman, but she had a small neck. Politically, she was being used to cement the Auld Alliance between France and Scotland. In both contexts, the mighty Henry lost out, to his considerable chagrin.

The impressive James maintained the alliance he wanted, and acquired an admirable and impressive wife. Between 1537 and 1542, her role was that of queen consort. She was tactful enough, when she came from France to Scotland, to comment that the Palace of Linlithgow was as fine as any she had seen – high praise from someone accustomed to the great chateaux of the Loire.

And to begin with, she fulfilled her function admirably, giving birth to two sons. Then tragedy struck. Both her sons died in 1541. It might be noted that James V's reaction to this dynastic catastrophe was infinitely less murderous than that of his Tudor uncle.

In 1542, a week after the birth of a daughter, her husband also died in the immediate aftermath of defeat by the English at Solway Moss. Whatever the personal grief of these two dreadful years, there was none of the public whingeing which would be such a characteristic of that daughter. No longer in the protected position of the King's wife, Mary was

now – as the infant queen's mother – thrust directly into the dangerous world of English threat from abroad, and political jockeying for power and religious division at home.

For the first 12 years of her daughter's minority, she was a figure always to be reckoned with, but without official position. James V had held Protestantism in check; his death allowed the Protestants their head. Initially the minority government, under James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, pursued a policy of friendship with England, to be sealed by a marriage between Henry's son Edward and Mary, Queen of Scots. This foundered on Arran's cithering and Henry's bullying – first diplomatically and then militarily, with the 'Rough Wooing' of 1544.

The way was therefore left open for Mary of Guise's desire for the preservation of the Catholic faith, a return to the Auld Alliance and a French marriage for her daughter. The last was achieved when the child-queen was sent to France for her safety in 1548, and married to the dauphin, Francis, a decade later. In 1554, Mary of Guise replaced Arran as Regent.

As head of the minority government from 1554 to 1560, Mary of Guise maintained the Catholic church in Scotland, not least by an intelligent



One of the few examples of surviving pre-Reformation stained glass shows the coat of arms of our French-born Regent.





King James V with Mary of Guise: His death brought an unexpected challenge to her, and she rose to it.

## The howling insults hurled at her by Knox were a measure of her success

policy of non-persecution of Protestants, in sharp distinction to the activities of Mary Tudor in these years. So they were left impotent, having no backing from abroad, and no martyrdoms to inspire those at home.

The howling insults hurled at her by John Knox, as much as his remarkably temperate appeal to her, are a measure of the frustration of the Protestants and the level of her success. She presided over a kingdom torn by diplomatic and religious strife with a calm and impressive skill, keeping close ties with France and using French officials and troops in Scotland, and until late in 1558, there seemed nothing to challenge her ascendancy. What



Chateau in the Loire Valley – where Mary of Guise grew up in the social mix of French nobility.

destroyed her policy was not any ineptitude on her part but the rapid shifts in the political situation, beginning in November, 1558, with the accession of the Protestant Elizabeth to the English throne, so that the Scottish Protestants now had an ally to turn to.

In 1559 they felt strong enough to oppose the Regent in arms, and they were further helped by internal troubles in France in 1560, which undermined Mary of Guise's close working relationship with her mighty Guise brothers, now distracted from attention to Scotland by crisis at home. Yet there was still stalemate between the Catholics and Protestants in

Scotland, until death resolved the issue.

Mary of Guise died in Edinburgh Castle on June 11, 1560. Knox, in an excess of frenzied language, saw this as the Lord's victory; and Protestant victory was indeed assured by English intervention in July. But the leading Protestant nobles, Lord James Stewart, the queen's half-brother, and the Earl of Argyll, took a different view of the matter, sitting with her throughout the last night of her life in tribute to a brilliant adversary.

The mid-16th century saw a veritable rash of women rulers. Mary of Guise, though governing as regent rather than queen regnant, was surely one of the most distinguished. ●





■ Scotland's leather and wool products were exported to ports as far afield as the Low Countries, France, Scandinavia and North Germany.

# Scots traders were the envy of Europe

Trade was crucial to Scotland's development, especially its links with France and the Netherlands

Scotland's trade developed markedly by the 16th century, and it did so on long established foundations, although conflict with England often served to undermine progress.

By the end of the 13th century, Scotland was a wealthy trading nation. For nearly 200 years, its rulers had arguably paid rather more attention to peace than to war. So by the year 1286 Scotland's trading surplus – the value of exports over imports – was very high indeed, reaching levels that would not be achieved again until modern times.

One starting point for Scotland's prosperity was the rule of Alexander I, who came to the throne in 1107. He gave some east coast ports within

easy sailing distance of the Continent – such as Inverkeithing, Aberdeen and Perth – special rights to overseas trade. When David I became king in 1124, he sought to encourage manufacturing towns as fruitful sources of revenue. He created a wide range of Scottish burghs because of their strategic

At the same time, however, his policy was to give the crown tighter control over exports and imports than was normal in most kingdoms abroad. Further seaport burghs were set up in the east (St Andrews, Crail, Dunfermline, Forres, Elgin and Montrose) and also in the west (Renfrew, Rutherglen and Lanark).

In this way, by giving exclusive rights to the merchants of these

burghs, the crown was actually looking for revenue-raising opportunities, but at the same time, his policy also attracted foreign traders and manufacturers who sought to settle in the Scottish burghs and become burgesses. For them, it was an age of opportunity and Scotland offered some of the best chances going – the most profitable openings for investment.

By 1200, nearly 50 burghs were created throughout the country, leading to the rising pride of Scotland's mercantile classes and an influx of settlers from France, Flanders, England and Scandinavia.

Some brought manufacturing skills which Scotland had lacked, while others were early import



# Scottish ships sailed in convoy as protection against English pirates

export entrepreneurs. At that time, and for centuries to come, piracy was seen as a form of business

Meanwhile, in the Highlands, the Gaels of Scotland traded with Europe as they had done since the kingdom of Dalriada in the 7th and 8th centuries

In the time of Alexander III, we are told, the King was far from keen on the principle of free trade – for the loss of valuable cargoes to pirates and shipwrecks led him to pass strict laws inhibiting Scottish merchants from exporting their own goods

However, he didn't mind foreign traders taking the risk, so vessels from many countries came to Scotland laden with wine, spices, salt, olive oil, linen, hemp and dyestuffs, which could be exchanged for Scottish produce such as wool, fish, skins and fur. Scottish wool in particular was highly prized, thought to be lower in quality than the best of English wool but much cheaper

According to the historian Patrick Fraser Tytler recording these developments much later, this was the picture by the close of the 13th century as traders from overseas homed in on Scotland with the certainty of making a bargain

*"Many vessels of different countries came to Scotland freighted with various kinds of merchandise, with the design of exchanging them for the commodities of our kingdom"*

*"Burgesses were allowed to traffic with these foreign merchantmen – and in a short time the kingdom became rich in every kind of wealth, in the productions of the arts and manufacture, in money and in agricultural produce, in flocks and herds, so that many (says an ancient*

*historian) came from the west and east to consider its power and to study its polity."*

Scotland as an envied example of overseas trading success? It's worth remembering that this situation really existed centuries ago.

The wealth generated by the export trade helped pay for the building of Scotland's greatest ecclesiastical monuments of the time, cathedrals and abbeys, as well as castle-building programmes of leading families.

The finest quality of Scottish wool was very much in demand in France and in Flanders, which in later centuries became Scotland's major supplier of weaponry and armour

The enormous cannon Mons Meg, still kept at Edinburgh Castle, was cast there. In the east and west coast, from towns like Crail and Dumbarton, the herring fisheries gained an international reputation. From Aberdeen, we exported large quantities of salmon and cod, a fish which was known on the Continent as 'abberilaan'.

So what went wrong for Scotland's trading eminence?

Generations of war were to intervene as the nation faced a series of confrontations with power-hungry English monarchs, which would waste away the country's peacetime energies and frustrate its commerce.

The effect of this warring with our big neighbour to the south was seen right from the moment of the invasion by Edward I in 1296.

Naturally, it temporarily ended Scottish trade with England, but also the coming years of hostility prevented many foreign merchants sailing to Scottish ports. When



■ Trade in salt became as important as that of wool, grain, fish and crafts.

Scottish ships did venture to sea, they tended to sail in convoy as protection against English pirates, and very few would attempt to negotiate the English Channel.

With its export trade severely hit, the fishing industry fell on hard times. It is estimated that from the time Alexander III died in his fall from his horse at Burntisland, the nation's economy was reduced by more than half in 70 years as trade deficits increased. No wonder Andrew Wynton's chronicler bemoaned the King's death and what it signalled for ordinary people's living conditions:

*Away was sons (abundance) of alle and bredd,*

*Of wyne and wax, of gamyn and gle  
Our golde was changit into lede*

After the Battle of Bannockburn, however, things began to improve for a while for Scotland's merchants.

The city of Bruges in Flanders, with its nearby seaport, was given exclusive rights for the handling of Scottish wool and hides, and was also the place from which imports from several nations were forwarded to Scotland. In fact, Bruges was a truly cosmopolitan city in those times and was to remain an important friend of Scotland as our trading fortunes fluctuated under

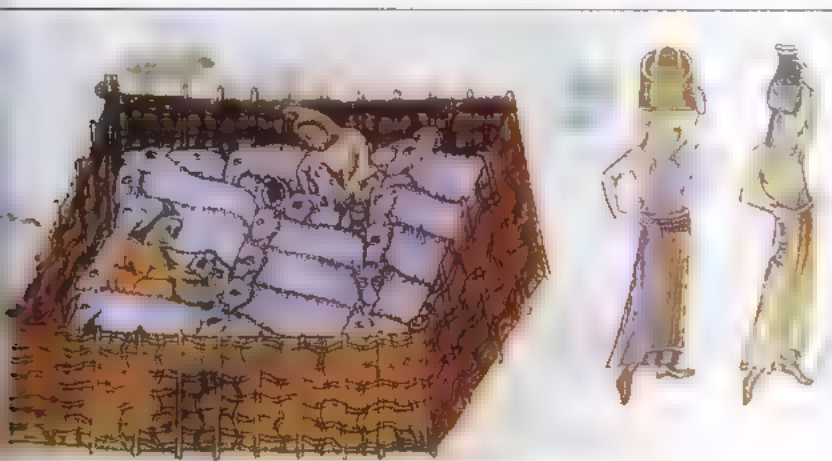
the effect of the Black Death in 1349 and hostilities with England.

But from 1460, the accession of James III gave Scotland a monarch who was deeply interested in trade, who led Parliament into passing many regulations designed to improve standards in the shipping of goods. Some nobles described James's preoccupation with the state of the nation's coffers as 'unseemly', and many were generally unhappy with his economic policy.

From Bruges, James brought over a wealthy merchant and diplomat called Anselme Adornes as an economic adviser. The result was a failed attempt to introduce a copper coinage, but there was success in other areas – including the widening of free trade, the development of rural crafts such as weaving, and a revival in fishing.

By the 1540s, France had overtaken the Netherlands as Scotland's biggest foreign customer.

Over the course of the 16th century, Scots foreign trade improved so much that every small trader in the North Sea or Baltic ports became known as a 'Scottis'. Although often portrayed as a derogatory term, this was a testament to the tenacity and ability of the Scots traders and, as such, a hard-won accolade. ●



■ A flock of sheep was a valuable asset to 14th-century farmers, firstly for wool – in demand in other parts of Europe – but also for milk.



# Seventy children die



■ Sadness and bewilderment show on the faces of passers-by outside the Glen Cinema in the aftermath of the tragedy on December 31, 1929.

When a burning film reel was thrown out, the danger seemed over. But a call of 'fire!' caused the 700 children in Paisley's Glen Cinema to flee in panic – with tragic results

**H**ugmanay, 1929, is a date the town of Paisley will never forget – the day 69 children died,

crushed to death trying to flee a minor fire in a local cinema

There were 700 youngsters inside the Glen Cinema, near Paisley Cross, when tragedy struck. Most had paid a penny to get in, although a seat in the balcony cost 2d

There was a typical children's double bill, a western called *The Desperado Dude* and an adventure called *The Crowd*

Mums were delighted to get the youngsters off their hands as they cleaned their houses for the New Year celebrations

The youngsters happily sang the Glen song, and were cheering the goodies and booing the baddies in the Western when there came the first hint of trouble

The assistant projectionist, 15 year-old James McVey, spotted smoke coming from one of the film

reels and bravely picked it up and tried to carry it outside. He got as far as the entrance hall before he was forced to drop it

But cinema manager Charles Dordward heard his cries for help and threw the canister out of a window effectively ending any threat of fire

But the damage had been done. Clouds of thick, acrid smoke poured into the cinema. A boy stood at the back of the packed hall, shouting 'fire' and the youngsters began to run

They started screaming and running for the cinema's only exit – the back of the hall

The girl who saved the life of Isabella Muir, 11, was the first to budge a metal trellis door behind them. And there was no escape for the terrified youngsters

As more and more youngsters poured down the short flight of stairs, those at the front were trampled and crushed. Though Isabella Muir survived, local

firemen were there within minutes and started clearing the debris from their fronted them

One little lad in a corner was piled up above his head. He wasn't looking at the fire. He was looking upwards, his hands pushing back against the ceiling as if pushing back against his hands. I suppose he was still fighting for his life in that crush.

When the firemen reached the stairway they found the children "packed as tightly as cement bags, legs and arms were intertwined and bodies were twisted"

Greta Rossi, 9, was one of the survivors. She had emptied a jam jar into two saucers and taken it back to the local shop to get her penny entrance money. Greta and her best friend Leah Dixon were sitting three rows from the front when the panic started. She remembered



# in Hogmanay horror



■ Led by a Boys Brigade company, a solemn funeral procession for one of the crush victims – George Wingate – marches slowly past the ill-fated cinema.

later: "At first we thought it was a joke, and started running too."

"Then we saw some of the children tripping and crying and we knew something was badly wrong."

She and Leah were trapped in the crush at the locked escape door, but were freed by firemen.

When they got out, however, someone told Leah that her nephew Alex was trapped inside. She went back in to get him and was killed.

Another boy, 12-year-old orphan James Johnstone, had gone to the cinema with a five-year-old friend, Lillie Buchanan.

In the panic they were separated, and he escaped.

"I can't go back without her," he told people outside and, before they could stop him, he vanished inside.

The two children were found dead later, holding hands. Firemen, police and civilians worked quickly and, within 20 minutes of the first whiff of smoke, the cinema was cleared.

Every available form of transport

was used to take the youngsters to the Royal Alexandra Hospital, and medical staff poured in to help some of the doctors wearing evening clothes under white coats as they abandoned planned New Year celebrations.

Despite their efforts, 69 children died of suffocation and crushing injuries, and another boy died the following day from a fractured skull.

The manager of the cinema, Charles Dorward, was later arrested and tried on a charge of causing the deaths of 70 children, but he was acquitted.

In Paisley's Hawkhead Cemetery there is a memorial to the children who died in the Glen Cinema. It is surrounded by many of their graves.

One of the most poignant moments was when 2,000 people gathered at Paisley Cross to bring in the town's saddest ever New Year.

The only sound to be heard was the church bells pealing out midnight. ■



■ This window was smashed by a policeman to allow children to escape.



# YET ANOTHER

**I**t was the Industrial Revolution in Scotland, and two young entrepreneurs with a steady, if unusual, business were planning to expand. A switch of focus from Edinburgh to Glasgow, and maybe even Ireland – but always exporting what they called the ‘subjects’ back to the Scottish capital.

They were mercenary merchants of death, whose brutal reign of terror outraged the nation – shocking even the Prime Minister, the Duke of Wellington, well used to slaughter at Waterloo. They were Burke and Hare, both called William, whose ‘subjects’ were the bodies of their freshly killed victims. These were immediately sold for dissection to a leading anatomy teacher, Dr Robert Knox ‘who asked no questions’.

In just a year, Burke and Hare lured 16 men, women and children to their untimely ends, having perfected a way of suffocating them without any obvious sign of violence.

The bodies were dumped in tea chests, herring barrels, sacks and trunks for delivery to the doctor’s student classroom at Surgeons Square. At first they did it at night to avoid suspicion, but later they became cocky, doing it in daylight.

Still no questions were asked, as Knox and his surgical assistants paid about £10 for each body as they arrived in a steady stream.

This was when they even thought of expanding their bodies-for-sale business, with Burke going with another man to Glasgow or Ireland and sending back the bodies to Hare in Edinburgh for Dr Knox.

Strangely, Burke was later to appear hurt – almost insulted, that people thought they had been robbing graves to get the bodies.

Yet it was all a different story a few years earlier, when the two Ulster Catholics arrived separately in Scotland in 1818 to work as navvies building the Union Canal. Ironically, several of their victims would be fellow Irish Catholic immigrants.

Their fateful first meeting came in

■ **Hare turned King’s Evidence and got away with his horror crimes.**

**It was easy money and Burke and Hare were getting rich selling freshly-killed bodies. Until the 16th victim...**

1827 when small, but powerfully built, Burke and his Scots mistress Helen MacDougal stayed in the cheap lodging house run by Hare and his Ulster wife Margaret at Fanner’s Close in the West Port of Edinburgh. Both men were 36.

They heard there was a famine of bodies for the competing university anatomists. So in November, when an old man who lodged with them died of natural causes, they thought they could profit from his death.

They prised open his coffin in the house and replaced the body with weights, which were solemnly buried next day. That evening they went to Dr Knox’s classroom and said they had “a subject to dispose of”.

Told by an assistant to “come back when it is dark”, they returned with the body in a sack. Dr Knox asked no questions, paid them £7 10s for it, and the assistant said they would be glad to see them again when they had any other body to dispose of.

They couldn’t believe how easy it had been. Hare, who was owed £4 by the old man anyway, pocketed £4 5s and Burke £3 5s.

One of Britain’s most cold-blooded series of killings was about to be unleashed – resulting in guards being kept on graveyards to stop grave robbers. At this time fever was widespread and another lodger went down with it in the early weeks of 1828. Burke and Hare probably thought themselves he was doomed, and that death would spare them more suffering.

Burke, more clever than his partner, realised there must be a sign of violence somewhere. He put a pillow across the man’s mouth while Hare lay across his chest. A university anatomist at the back of the class said the corpse was “very fat”.

A few weeks later, an Englishman lodging with them took ill with jaundice. They both got above him, but this time there was no pillow, no danger of losing hold. Burke was

■ **Dr Robert Knox: he bought the bodies and asked no questions.**





# BODY FOR YOU, SIR



## ■ Macabre memento: calling card holder fashioned from Burke's skin.

perfecting the art of depriving his victim of air with his fingers. Again Knox paid them £10

Then, in February, elderly Abigail Simpson was murdered and her body sold the same way. In April, Burke lured pretty young prostitute Mary Paterson to his brother's Canongate home and killed her. He took her in daylight in a tea chest to Knox — with boys shouting "corpse!" at him — and just four hours after the murder she was lying, still warm, on the dissecting table. She still had twopence-halfpenny clutched in her hand.

Business was good. Again and again, they employed the same methods on their unfortunate victims. But in June, 1828, a case came that haunted Burke to his dying day.

A woman and her deaf and dumb grandson, aged 12, arrived as lodgers. They got her drunk and suffocated her as she slept. The boy was sitting at the fire in the kitchen and they grabbed him. He looked up at them with a pleading look in his eyes, muttering incomprehensible words. One story was that Burke put him on his knee and snapped his back like a twig. But it is more likely that he was suffocated too — a broken back would have seemed too obvious even to Dr Knox. The bodies were bundled into an empty herring barrel and taken to him the next day — for £16.

But by now, Burke was haunted by the killings — especially the young boy's. He had been the first to be murdered while fully conscious.

Burke couldn't sleep without a bottle of whisky by his bed and a candle burning all night. When he woke up in the night, he would

drink up to half a bottle at a time until he fell deep asleep again, escaping from the ghosts.

But they both agreed they may as well be hanged for a sheep as a lamb so they carried on killing and selling. Around September, Mrs Hostler, who had been washing in the house for some time, became the next victim. Once again, they got her drunk and into bed, and when asleep suffocated her. When they put her in a box and got £8, she still had ninepence-halfpenny in her hand which they could hardly remove.

But by now they were getting reckless and careless. When they tried to suffocate James Wilson, 19, a local simpleton known as 'Daft Jamie' — he fought back. He and Hare fell off the bed, and Burke had to struggle to hold his hands and feet until Hare suffocated him. His body got them another £10.

Just a week later at Hallowe'en, an old woman, Mrs Mary Docherty, was destined to be their 16th and final victim.

She visited the house, got drunk and they killed her. But neighbours heard shouts, and next day a lodger saw the body and alerted police.

By then it had been dumped in a tea chest and sold for £5 to Knox at whose place police later found it. Of all 16 murders, this was the only body ever recovered by the police. The rest had long since been cut up for the anatomical education of future surgeons.

Burke and his girlfriend Helen, 33, were arrested that day, November 1, and the Hares the following day. But to ensure at least some convictions, Hare and his wife were allowed to turn King's Evidence.

The only charge was the murder of Mrs Docherty.

Hare admitted they had supplied bodies to the doctors, and a Knox porter told the High Court jury in Edinburgh that both men had "frequently" brought bodies which had not been interred.

On Christmas Eve, 1828, the jury took only one hour to find Burke guilty of the murder and Helen MacDougal not proven.

Burke threw his arms, with which

he had murdered so many, round her neck and said: "Thank God, you are safe."

On January 28, 1829, in the Lawnmarket, a crowd of 25,000 baying "Hang him!" and chanting for Hare and Knox as well — watched as Burke paid the final price at 8.15am.

Ironically, his own body was dissected, as the law then decreed, by Knox's rival Professor Alexander Monro. But only after riots by students and the public first allowed a bizarre 'lying in state' when 30,000 viewed the body.

Monro later had the body flayed and the skeleton remains on view today in the Anatomy Museum in Edinburgh University. The skin was presented to friends of Monro who made it into tobacco pouches, snuff purses, calling card holders and other items.

What happened to the other main characters?

Hare fled for his life into England. He was last seen walking south of Carlisle but was never heard of again. His wife eventually returned to her Ulster home. Burke's girl friend Helen was stoned in Gateshead before vanishing.

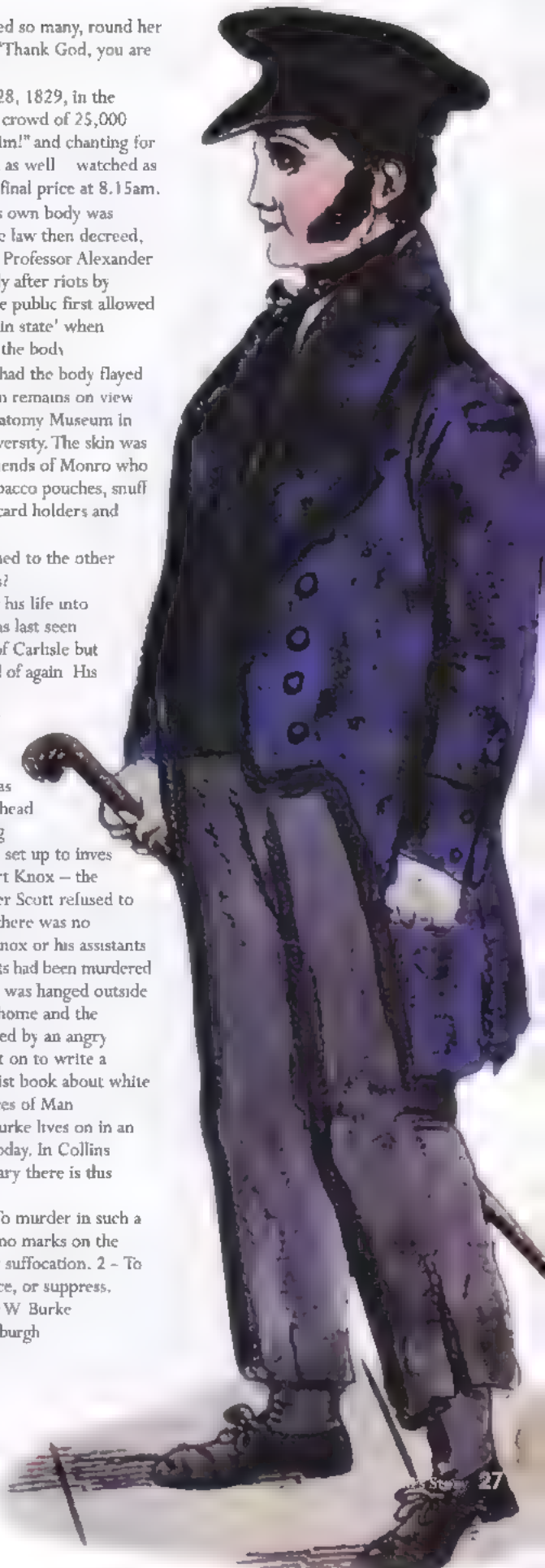
A committee set up to investigate Dr Robert Knox — the author Sir Walter Scott refused to go on it — said there was no evidence that Knox or his assistants knew the subjects had been murdered.

Knox's effigy was hanged outside his Newington home and the windows smashed by an angry crowd. He went on to write a disgustingly racist book about white superiority, *Races of Man*.

Amazingly, Burke lives on in an unlikely form today. In Collins English Dictionary there is this entry:

**Burke.** 1 To murder in such a way as to leave no marks on the body, usually by suffocation. 2 To get rid of, silence, or suppress.

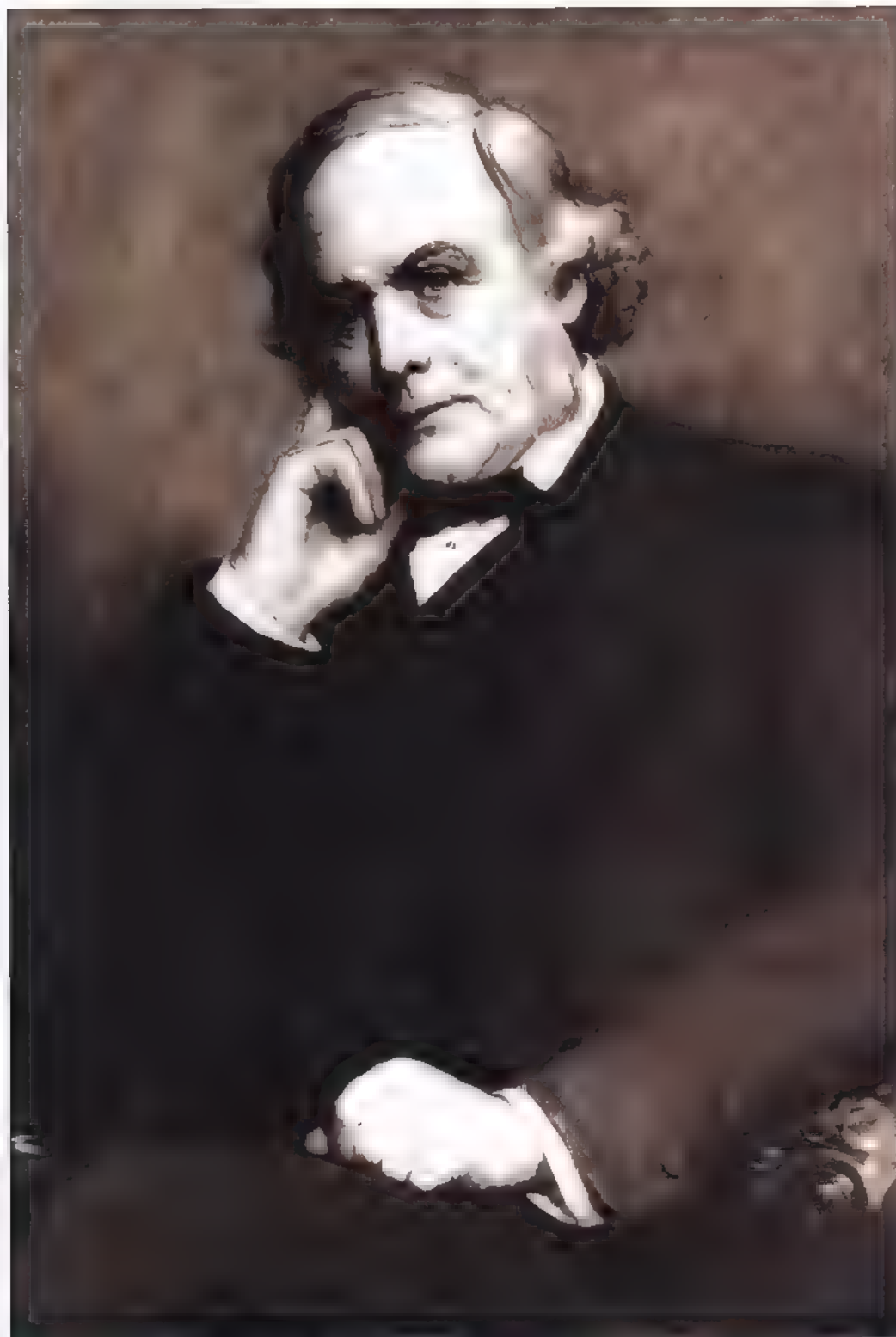
(Named after W Burke executed in Edinburgh for murders of this type) ●



## ■ Paying the price: Burke (right) was hanged before a baying crowd of 25,000.



# A survival instinct on behalf of his patients



His conquest of infection was denigrated by his fellow-surgeons, but this product of Edinburgh Royal Infirmary was to be proved right in the end

JOSEPH LISTER (1827-1912)

In the early 19th century, few things were feared as much as the surgeon's knife. Then James Simpson improved matters slightly by discovering a reliable anaesthetic. But still patients had to face a dreadful enemy – the risk of infection, which killed a huge proportion of those who had survived the actual operation.

This was the situation in 1860 when Joseph Lister became Professor of Surgery at Glasgow University and a surgeon at the city's Royal Infirmary. His ward, in fact, built on the site of a mass grave for cholera victims – the killers his patients had to face – tetanus, blood poisoning and gangrene.

At that time the Frenchman Louis Pasteur had shown that fermentation of wine was caused by minute, airborne bacteria. Lister realised that these could also spread infection, and began experiments to prove this.

His first experiment was to sterilise a solution of carbolic acid. He then used it to wash his hands and the instruments he used in his operations. This solved the problem. Another step was to devise

an experiment to prove that the carbolic acid was the cause of the infection. Lister took a piece of catgut, first carrying out an operation on a young calf (for which he was hailed before a Royal Commission on Vivisection). This solved the problem. Another step was to devise

■ Joseph Lister's ideas did not go down well with his own generation. But they caught on with the next.



a spray which sent a fine carbolic mist above the patient on the operating table, as well as sluicing down all his equipment with the solution. An example of his spraying mechanism, a strange-looking contraption, is held in the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh.

Lister's measures led to a dramatic drop in the post-operative death rate of his patients. His antiseptic revolution also allowed him to carry out more ambitious operations, deeper in the human body. But 19th century medicine was a world of big egos and bitter feuds between the increasingly wealthy upper echelon of medical men. While the previous century had been marked by harmony and the excitement of discovery, there now seemed to be jealousy among leading figures for the accomplishments of others.

Even Simpson, whose discoveries in anaesthesia also revolutionised surgery, denigrated Lister's work. So despite these accomplishments, other surgeons in Britain and America rejected Lister's ideas saying they had tried them but without success. Their patients continued to die from infections.

Then a leading American surgeon discovered why. Although Lister had insisted that everything in the operating theatre had to be cleaned scrupulously, the Americans had continued to carry out operations while wearing their traditional frock coats, often ancient and blood-spattered. The wooden handles of their instruments were rarely cleaned properly, and they often re-used the sponges with which they swabbed out their patients' wounds.

It took a new generation of American doctors to adopt Lister's techniques properly, and only then were they accepted in Britain. In Germany and in Australia – where many doctors were Scottish-trained – there was much more enthusiasm from the start.

Joseph Lister was actually born in Essex and trained in London. But because he spent almost all of his professional life in Scotland, and made his pioneering advances here, he is regarded as a member of Scotland's medical elite.

On qualifying, he joined Professor James Syme at Edinburgh Royal Infirmary to gain surgical experience. He gained a wife as well, marrying Syme's daughter, Agnes.

After his nine-year professorship in Glasgow, Lister returned to Edinburgh as Regius Professor of Surgery in 1869, then took a chair at King's College Hospital in London in 1877.

In 1883 he was created a peer, becoming the first doctor to sit in the Lords, and he was appointed President of the Royal Society in 1895. ●

# New thinking won him his mentor's old chair

**SIR WILLIAM McEWEN (1848-1924)**

**T**he medical career of William McEwen, born 21 years after Joseph Lister, gives a brilliant illustration of how advances in medicine can be taken forward by the next generation.

McEwen was born in Rothesay, the son of a merchant, and began his studies at Glasgow when Lister was Professor of Surgery – and his inspiration.

McEwen was a leading practitioner in what became known as the 'new surgery', using Lister's antiseptic techniques at Glasgow Royal Infirmary to carry out longer and more complex operations than had been possible before.

But when he improved on Lister's methods with the evolution of 'aseptic' surgery – in which all instruments and materials were sterilised rather than washed in antiseptic – he became one of the originators of modern surgical practice. He was

also a pioneer of neuro-surgery, developing many new techniques, and was the first to successfully remove a brain tumour in 1879.

Among his other pace-setting procedures were the first lung operation; finding a surgical method to correct rickets; and in particular his discoveries in bone-grafting. One of his patients was a boy with an arm crippled by osteomyelitis. McEwen took slivers of bone from his shin and embedded them in the diseased arm, so that they knitted together and gave the boy a useful limb once again.

In 1892, McEwen was appointed to the university chair once occupied by his mentor, Joseph Lister. He was to spend all his professional life in Glasgow, and among his many achievements he is remembered for his belief in the importance of good nursing in post-operative care.

Along with the matron and the Royal Infirmary itself, he planned the first training courses for nursing staff.

## The 'Napoleon of Medicine'

**JAMES SYME (1799-1870)**

**B**efore Simpson had given anaesthetics to surgery, and before Lister had conquered infection, top surgeons like James Syme did their best under trying circumstances.

In early 19th-century Edinburgh it was normal for an operation to be performed in the patient's home, literally a kitchen-table affair. Syme was naturally concerned about these poor hygienic conditions. But in any case his skills were in so much demand that, for

greater efficiency, he opened his own surgical hospital in 1829 on the site of the present Royal Museum of Scotland. Being a somewhat argumentative character, and known as the Napoleon of Medicine, he had been banned for some reason from practising in the Royal Infirmary.

An example of Syme's irascible temperament came in a confrontation with that brilliant but younger man, James Simpson, who was haughtily classified by Syme as "only an obstetrician". Simpson had the affrontery to suggest that Syme could control haemorrhage by acupressure. Syme, who was demonstrating to a class of students, called for a copy of Simpson's pamphlet on the subject, cut it to ribbons with his scalpel, and stamped the pieces into the floor.

Unsurprisingly, he was slow to adopt Simpson's use of anaesthetic, and was once known to have carried out a 24-minute operation on a patient who was fully conscious, but survived. Nonetheless, he was an excellent teacher of clinical surgery and introduced the idea of having students accompany him at the bedside to develop diagnostic skills.

One of his attainments was to raise the amputation of limbs from little more than butchery to a scientific process. In time, Syme's quarrels with authority were resolved and he became a professor at Edinburgh University with his own wards at the infirmary, and was appointed President of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh in 1849.

Born in Edinburgh, Syme trained in France and Germany before devoting his entire career to his native city. When he was just 19 and interested in chemistry, he discovered a procedure for waterproofing cloth, but didn't patent it. Five years later Charles Macintosh did – which is why a raincoat is not known as a 'Syme'.

■ James Syme had a temper – and a talent.





# WHEN THE SONS HIT BACK FOR FLODDEN



**Flodden's impact on the reign of James V is easy to appreciate. But Scots still have reminders of the pain, says biker historian David R Ross**

**T**he early years of the reign of James V were spent dealing with the tragedy of Flodden. A new wall was built to defend Edinburgh – The Flodden Wall. Remnants of it can still be found in the city. One part that is easy to visit is the section in Greyfriars Churchyard, the entrance of which is in Candlemaker Row, just opposite the New Museum of Scotland.

The wall was built to counter the expected heavy English invasion. One invasion force came to a sticky end in 1514 in the little-known fight at the Hornshole near Hawick. The angry youths of the town, determined to avenge their fathers' deaths, annihilated a body of English here.

*Teribus ye Teriodin;  
Sons of heroes slain at  
Flodden,  
Imitating Border Bowmen,  
Aye defend your rights and  
common.*

A pillar bearing the legend '1514, Lest we Forget' marks the spot, and stands two miles north-east of Hawick, just off the A698. The Horse Monument in Hawick town centre is also a commemoration of this battle, and the famous Hawick Common Riding is based on it, too.

During James's time, the days of cross-Border reiving were at their height, so much so that the area around Liddesdale was known as the Debatcable Land – a reference to the fact that no-one seemed to be sure where Scotland ended and England began.

James led an excursion into the Borders in 1530 in an attempt to rectify the situation.

He had Border reivers' leader Johnie Armstrong and 24 of his followers hanged from trees at Caerlenrig churchyard – the story of which has become one of our best-known Borders ballads.

It is said Armstrong raided only English territory, and that James made a huge mistake in executing him.

A memorial to Johnie Armstrong still stands in the churchyard at Caerlenrig, near

the A7 between Hawick and Langholm, by Teviothead.

The Armstrongs held sway all over this area, and have their own little museum in the village of Newcastleton. This museum even has a sample of moon rock! The Scots invented everything, of course, even the first moonwalk was done by Neil Armstrong – a descendant of this Border clan.

James V also cemented the Auld Alliance with France, by twice marrying Frenchwomen. He married his first wife, Princess Madeleine of France, at a ceremony in the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris in 1537, but she died within two months of her arrival in Scotland.

His second wife, Mary of Guise, had a huge influence in Scotland. Many of our fortified tower houses have features – little cap-houses, for example – that look like bits of architecture from French chateaux.

This began with Mary of Guise's arrival. James V was not a popular king in Scotland. There was a streak in his personality that neither the nobility nor the common people could like. He was half-Tudor, of course, a family for whom the Scots held no love.

It was this facet of his personality that caused a Scottish army to make only a half-hearted attempt at the Battle of Solway Moss in 1542. The battle site lies some three miles north-east of Gretna, near the A6071.

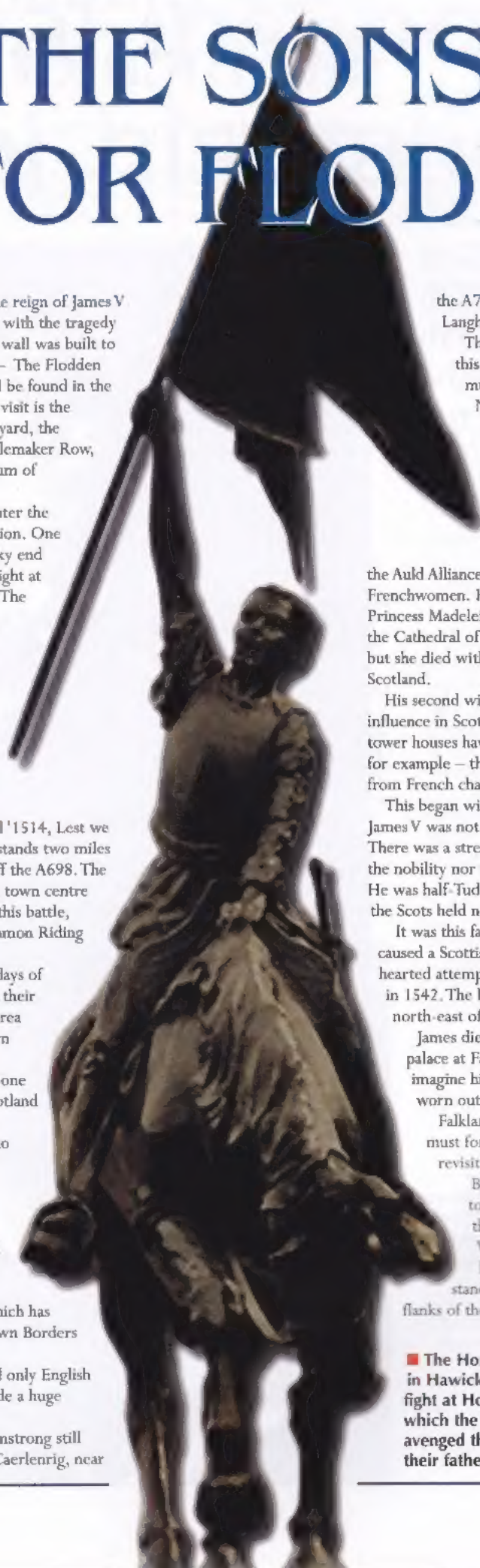
James died shortly after this battle in his palace at Falkland. It is easy to imagine him as an old man, but he was worn out at just 30.

Falkland today is an absolute must for anyone with a penchant for revisiting history.

Both the palace and the little town clustered around it are a throwback to earlier times.

Weathered but eternally handsome, Falkland Palace stands under the northernmost flanks of the Lomond Hills in Fife.

■ The Horse Monument in Hawick recalls the fight at Hornshole, in which the town's sons avenged the deaths of their fathers at Flodden.





# Scotland's Story

Anderston Quay, Glasgow, G3 8DA

Telephone: 0141-242-1493

e-mail: scotlandstory@sundaymail.co.uk

Website Address: www.scotlands-story.co.uk

## Consultants

Professor Edward J Cowan, Head of Scottish History, University of Glasgow.

Professor Christopher Whatley, Head of History, University of Dundee.

Ian Nimmo, chairman.

Editor Alex MacLeod

Managing editor John Scott

Assistant editor Allan Burnett

Design Samantha Ramsay

Chief sub-editor Richard Wilson

Picture editor Naomi Small

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Tel: 0141 242 1400

Editor-in-Chief Iain King

Senior editor Austin Barrett

Consultant Hugh Currie

Group Advertising Sales Manager

Suzie Cairns Tel: 0141 242 1444

Circulation and Marketing Director

Fred Governo

Circulation Manager Rita Nimmo

Production Manager Helen Sullivan

Financial Controller Jonathan Platt

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# SCOTLAND'S STORY

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The Reformation not only changed Scotland's religion, it freed the nation from English and French domination

### PREACHINGS OF JOHN KNOX

Inspired by Luther and Calvin, John Knox's reforming zeal helped transform Scotland, but not without price.

### HONOURS OF SCOTLAND

Although modest in number, Scotland's Crown jewels are older and more spectacular than England's.

### CHAMBERS OF PAIN

When all else failed, the torture chamber could usually be relied on to loosen the tightest of tongues

### MYSTERY OF FLANNAN

What happened to the three lighthouse keepers who disappeared without trace from their lonely, storm-lashed charge

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